

PEACE NEWS

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PERSEVERANCE

WHILE the effort to clear Dick Sheppard House of debt rightly engrosses the activities of the PPU, it is to be expected that contributions to the Peace News Fund should languish. Non omnia possumus omnes: we can't all do everything. So I am not downhearted over the decline. But I do expect a resumption of contributions on the old generous scale next month.

I should like particularly to thank the reader who, not content to rest on her laurels as the collector of 30s. in 3d. pieces, has collected the same amount again: £3 in 3d. pieces! It is an example of the steady perseverance which, more certainly than anything else, will take us to the still distant goal.

Contributions since Oct. 9: £21. 7s. 6d. Total to date: £3,872. 9s. 11d.

The Editor

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PACIFIST COMMENTARY
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

Mr. Gandhi Puts His Case

WHAT is, I believe, the last number of Harijan to be published before the arrest of Gandhi and his fellow Congressmen has now reached me. From it I gather the following.

First, as regards the conflict between the Moslem League and Congress, Gandhi says that the impression produced by a spokesman of the League is that he does not want a settlement.

If he wants one, why not accept the Congress President's offer that the Congress and League representatives should put their heads together and never part until they have reached a settlement? Is there any flaw or want of sincerity in this offer? (Harijan, July 26).

No Dictator

GANDHI seems to have known, in advance, the kind of propaganda that would be made against him. The parallel between Gandhi and Hitler which Mr. Amery drew in the recent India debate is anticipated, and dismissed for what it is: "a travesty of truth."

It is no use damning me as a dictator like Herr Hitler. He does not argue with his co-workers, if he may be said to have any. He merely issues orders which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. I argued at the last meeting for eight days. The members agreed when their reason was satisfied. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love. It is a travesty of truth to compare me with Hitler or to call me dictator in any current sense of the term.

Gandhi's Own Words

ON the practical consequences of his demand for British withdrawal Gandhi is quite explicit.

Critics conveniently omit to mention the fact that in order to prove its bona fides and to prevent the Japanese attack the Congress had agreed that, in spite of the withdrawal of the British, the Allied troops should remain in India, naturally under a treaty with the Free India Government to be. So long as that Government, provisional or otherwise, has not come into being, there will be no authority to check their operations save their honour. For by declaring India free they will have absolved themselves from consulting anybody formally as they have to consult today members of their nomination. In this sense, the declaration of independence leaves them free to adopt the military measures they may consider necessary. I know that this is an anomalous position for a free country to be in. But honesty dictates the course.

It is best to have these things in Gandhi's own words. The "smear"-propaganda has been so sustained

The State and the Citizen

"It must be a primary duty of national education to develop a strong sense of national obligation in the individual citizen, to encourage in him an ardent understanding of the State's needs, and to render him capable of serving these needs."

So says the Conservative Party's report on education ("Looking Ahead"). We have tended (it suggests) to forget that character must be "tough" as well as "good"; hence we must encourage "the bold qualities of adventurousness, initiative, enjoyment of difficulty and danger, the fighting spirit—in a word, grit."

THIS, then, is the approach to the Conservative "Brave New World." But if we are thus to "build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land," we had better first define what the State's needs are. It would be too bad, for instance, to find, after three years of war, that the State's needs do not differ from the Reich's needs; that it was for this we had launched a thousand ships and razed the topmost towers of Rotterdam.

It has been said that a State is a people organized for war, and from the Conservative Party's report this definition would appear to be a true one. But in the past there has been very little to choose between the policies of States organized for war. They have all ended, sooner or later, in war.

Good, but not Tough

At one time, of course, we were not sufficiently organized for war. We had not developed "a strong sense of national obligation in the individual citizen." We might have been "good," but we weren't "tough," and so we were at peace. In those degenerate days we lived without compulsion or even "direction"—we failed to have an "ardent understanding of the State's needs." And so, in the past, there was something to choose, not

very much, perhaps, but something, between our "character" and that of continental countries.

Now that is changed, but not so would like, The Nazi Angriff, of Dec. 19, 1938, gave something of a drastically as the Conservative Party welcome to what it believed to be the impending introduction of conscription in this country. It said: "Britain will place itself in the ranks of the 'militaristic States' which were previously regarded as a Continental phenomenon. The 'island' will finally be transferred into a normal European State."

The report ended, "We can but give it welcome, if on the banks of the Thames people are forced to stop making sneering remarks about the Potsdam spirit." Well, we don't sneer at the Potsdam spirit now. We "encourage" the "fighting spirit." In those far-off days we thought the British character could develop a "strong sense of national obligation" without the Potsdam spirit!

Democracy and "Defence"

When, in January, 1939, Mr. Winston Churchill was asked if it was possible to combine "the reality of democratic freedom with efficient military organization," he replied:

The essential aspects of democracy are the freedom of the individual, within the framework of laws passed by Parliament,

that very few people indeed now know what Gandhi's proposals were, and are.

To Every Japanese

HE reiterates the offer in the open letter "To Every Japanese."

Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of Free India's willingness to let the Allies retain their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allied cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to step into the country which Britain has vacated. Needless to repeat that if you cherish any such idea and will carry it out, we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster...

The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice, and they know me. I do not know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me you listen to no appeal but to the sword.

And Gandhi is quite frank that the resistance of Free India would not be non-violent.

If India were to listen to me, she would give non-violent help to China. But I know that will not be. Free India would want to be militarist.

Opposed to "Anarchy"

FINALLY, here is Gandhi's own anticipation of the nature of the new movement of non-co-operation.

It is not my intention to undertake at once any overwhelming programme. I want to watch and see, because whatever may be said to the contrary, even in conducting the movement I want to guard against a sudden outburst of anarchy or a state of things which may be calculated to invite Japanese aggression...

Will your campaign collapse, Gandhi was asked, if the Government sent you and thousands of your followers to jail?

"I hope not," said Gandhiji, laughing heartily. "On the contrary it should gain strength if it has any vitality."

to order his life as he pleases, and the uniform enforcement of tribunals independent of the executive.

These laws are based on Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus, the Petition of Right, and others. Above all, they secure the freedom of the individual from arbitrary arrest, for crimes unknown to the law, and provide for trial by jury of his equals. Without this foundation there can be no freedom or civilization, anyone being at the mercy of officials and liable to be spied upon and betrayed in his own home.

As long as these rights are defended, the foundations of freedom are secure. I see no reason why democracies should not be able to defend themselves without sacrificing these fundamental values.

One may only murmur:

Nay, never ask this week, fair Lord, Where they are gone, nor yet this year, Except with this as an overword; But where are the snows of yesteryear?

But others, besides the Germans and ourselves, have striven to understand the State's needs. The fall of Czarist Russia and the Communist Revolution brought new hope of freedom to millions. In the manifesto and decrees published after Lenin's seizure of power one may read such phrases as:

Utilization of a system of marks for estimating the knowledge and conduct of the pupil is abolished... Distribution of medals and insignia is abolished... The old form of discipline which corrupts the entire life of the school and the untrammelled development of the personality of the child, cannot be maintained in the schools of labour. The progress of labour itself develops this internal discipline without which collective and rational work is unimaginable... All punishment in schools is forbidden... All examinations are abolished. The wearing of school uniform is abolished.

Alas! on Sep. 4, 1935, a Decree on Academic Reform was issued by the Stalin Government, containing, among others, the following orders:

Instruct a commission... to elaborate a draft of a ruling for every type of school. The ruling must have a categorical and absolutely obligatory character for pupils as well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document which strictly establishes the regime of studies and the basis for order in the school...

Underlying the ruling on the conduct of pupils is to be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline... In the personal record there will be entered for the entire duration of his studies the marks of the pupil for every quarter, his prizes, and his punishments...

A special apparatus of Communist Youth Organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupil inside and outside of school. They are to watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils... Establish a single form of dress for the pupils of the primary, semi-secondary, and secondary schools, this uniform to be introduced in 1936 in the schools of Moscow.

A New Oath

This decree was followed by another, issued in Feb. 1937, ordering that the existing organizations for giving military training to young children (from eight years old upwards) should be strengthened and extended. In Jan. 1939 a significant change was made in the form of oath for the Red Army.

While, formerly, the Soviet recruit undertook to "pledge all deeds and thoughts to the great aim of emancipating all workers" and declared himself ready "to fight for the Soviet Union for socialism, and the brotherhood of peoples," he now swore, "to serve to his last breath his people, his homeland, and the Government of the workers and peasants, and to defend his land until her final victory over her enemies."

It seems that the State's need is power: that this need is common to all States, and that those who are "capable of serving these needs" lose their freedom in the process.

Where will our "toughness" lead us? Washington has recently announced that

a special 'raider battalion' of fierce and specially chosen men from the Marines, adept at shooting, knifing, bayoneting, gouging, and strangling, carried out the attack on the Japanese-held Pacific island of Makin on Aug. 17.

The Conservative Party has no need to "look ahead." The Brave New World is Here.

HAROLD V. HOLT

(Continued on page 2)

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End Collective Insanity

READERS of Lord Ponsonby's "Falsehood in War-time" will not need to be assured by us that it is futile, while the war is raging, to attempt to establish the balance of right and wrong in the issue of chaining prisoners of war. Many of us during the last war believed that the commission under the chairmanship of Lord Bryce—whose reputation for impartiality seemed beyond challenge—would be concerned to discover the truth and nothing but the truth concerning the alleged German atrocities. We were fooled, or fools. Even Lord Bryce's sense of evidence was overwhelmed by herd-emotion and wishful thinking. The report of his commission was subsequently discredited; and it remains on record only as evidence that the first necessity in modern war—the indispensable condition of keeping it going—is to believe that the enemy is wholly bad. Modern war is a condition of collective insanity.

No more than the Bryce Commission could be trusted 25 years ago, can we trust the "fact-finding" commission of the United Nations which is now to be set up to sift evidence and establish as far as possible individual responsibility for atrocities perpetrated in Axis-occupied territories. Judicial, or quasi-judicial, commissions to investigate atrocities in war-time are a travesty of legality. The accused persons, by hypothesis, cannot be present at the inquiry to defend themselves: the very elements of true judicial procedure are absent. Nevertheless, the findings of such quasi-judicial commissions are publicized and propagated; and with the average man (who is accustomed to regard anything he reads in even the least scrupulous newspaper as veracious) they have all the authority of truth itself.

We may therefore take it for granted that the true facts concerning the chaining of prisoners of war cannot be established, and be grateful that "on balance thoughtful opinion, while recognizing the strong emotional factors which cannot be ignored, seems opposed to a policy of reprisals." There is some chance that we may be spared an orgy of competitive brutality in the treatment of war-prisoners. Whether the governing consideration is humanity, or a practical calculation that since there are many more British prisoners in German hands than there are German prisoners in British hands, a policy of reprisals would mean that the British prisoners would suffer more, we may wholeheartedly welcome the decision (if it is a decision) that there shall be no reprisals.

Cardinal MacRory, the Primate of Ireland, sees in the whole affair evidence of the growth of cruel feelings on either side. It has (he says) served to strengthen his repeatedly expressed conviction that in a negotiated peace lies the "only hope of peace with justice."

If the war is fought to a finish there may possibly be a stalemate owing to utter exhaustion on both sides; but if either side wins there will be a peace not of justice but of vengeance, which will but sow the seeds of future war.

Unfortunately, the moral deterioration which is the best argument for a negotiated peace is itself the great obstacle in the way of peace-negotiation. But perhaps the day is not too far distant when the authorities themselves will realize that this time it is folly to hope for "the knock-out blow," and they will set themselves to encourage the will to peace as deliberately as they now cultivate the will to war.

"In the human world there may be very few who have their spiritual eyes open, but, in spite of the numerical preponderance of those who cannot see, their want of vision must not be cited as an evidence of the negation of light."—Rabindranath Tagore.

Hess and A Second Front

attempt the formation of a National Government, and be given access for this purpose to the detained Congress leaders.

Beyond this specific suggestion the NPC urges the Government to make a fresh effort, and "to give to Indians at this crucial time the sense of freedom and the substance of power" by "announcing categorically its willingness to transfer effective power to a National Government so soon as the basis for such a government has been established."

Hang Hess?

WHAT appears to amount to a demand from the Russian Government that Rudolf Hess should be executed forthwith is contained in M. Molotov's reply to a request from national committees of occupied countries for Soviet co-operation in bringing Nazis to justice for atrocities: "The Soviet Government considers that any of the leaders of Fascist Germany who in the course of the war happen to be in the hands of authorities of the Powers fighting against Hitlerite Germany should be quickly given over to trial by special international tribunal and punished with all the rigour of the criminal law."

Since there is no other Nazi leader save Hess in the hands of the United Nations, he must be meant. Indeed, the Moscow correspondent of the News Chronicle (Oct. 16) is explicit. Of what is Hess to be accused? Of applying in Germany some of the methods originated in Russia for dealing with political antagonists? M. Molotov's note appears to demand that Hess (who came to Britain before Germany attacked Russia) should be punished for German brutalities in Russia. It would be a very peculiar criminal law under which Hess could be condemned for any proceedings in the Russo-German war.

Major Issue

MORE, though dubious, light is thrown on the Russian demand by a Moscow message to The Times (Oct. 20), commenting on Pravda's demand that Hess should be put on trial forthwith for "criminal offences."

Pravda's point of view corresponds with popular sentiment. The Hess affair is closely linked in the public mind with the second front issue. Russians believe that Hess went to Britain to meet certain people whom 18 months ago the German Government believed to be approachable with a proposal to negotiate peace, leaving an unaided Russia exposed to German attack.

"It is generally thought here that the people whom Hess hoped or expected to meet are also delaying a second front from behind the scenes. The truth about Hess, it is felt will expose the truth about the second front. They want to hear what Hess has to say about his flight and his mission. They think it will mean discomfiture for what are supposed to be forces in Britain which are not wholly behind the Anglo-Soviet alliance and the prosecution of the war with all possible strength. The Hess affair is now treated as a major issue here."

THE PRESS and FREEDOM

THE position has been reached today when it is not so much the freedom of the press we need—as freedom from it.

It is disquieting to note how old newspapers put out for salvage purposes bear such headlines as "No War Now." A little investigation along these lines reveals our press Lords in a dubious light.

Lord Rothermere, for instance. Here is what he says about Hitler in his book "Warnings and Predictions":

Herr Hitler is proud to call himself a man of the people but, notwithstanding, the impression that has remained with me after every meeting with him is that of a great gentleman (page 136).

There is no man living whose promise given in regard to something of real moment I would sooner take. (page 135).

It is a thousand pities that so many copies of the Daily Mail are being transformed into cartridge cases—for Herr Hitler personally, if possible, and failing him, for the common people of Germany.

When Alfred Harmsworth, father of Lord Northcliffe and Lord Rothermere, was very old and anticipating death, it is said that he expressed fear of what the world might do to his young boys. To which fear a commentator has added: "Humph! He would have done better if he had worried about what his young boys would do to the world."

Beaverbrook's Record

AND Lord Beaverbrook. To the person of intelligence the record of past Daily Express campaigns is at best incomprehensible.

"Splendid isolation"—and Lord Beaverbrook himself flits from continent to continent. The League of Nations, crabbed among other reasons, because it was "expensive." Whereas the hard fact is that Great Britain's annual contribution to the League was but a fraction of what she is spending a day in the present situation. Perhaps even more odd: "Comrade" Beaverbrook. Whoever

This reveals an unholy confusion in the conception of a criminal offence. If the British Government succumbs to it, it will betray our most cherished tradition of civilization. Assuming that Hess did propose peace between Germany and Britain, leaving Germany a "free hand" against Russia, that is not a criminal offence, nor does it remotely resemble one.

Stalingrad

THE Times (Oct. 19) in its leading article declares that Hitler has made "an enormous miscalculation at Stalingrad." The Stockholm correspondent, on the other hand, reports that "in the northern half of Stalingrad the Germans have gained more ground since the middle of the week than for weeks before"; while the military correspondent says that "neutral observers and correspondents warn us that, however deeply chagrined the enemy may be by delays, his confidence that he will reach his goal appears to be complete."

Certainly, the sudden deterioration of the situation has come with a shock. Probably, opinion was misled by the German official statement that the end of the offensive stage of the war had been reached and the defensive stage had begun. This appears to have been wishfully interpreted as an excuse for not pressing the attack at Stalingrad. It seems to have been an indication that the Germans regarded the fall of Stalingrad as a foregone conclusion. And, on the face of it, it was hardly likely that Hitler would risk a repetition of his false prophecy about Moscow.

"Marshal Timoshenko's relief offensive from the north-west is not heavy enough for direct influence on the Stalingrad battle... and unless Timoshenko is able to augment his striking power to break the barrier—a state of affairs of which there is so far no indication—the gradual pounding of the whole of Stalingrad from the Russian grip appears to be inevitable" (Times, Oct. 19).

Smuts & Churchill

WHETHER the concerted voice of the press has any substantial authority, I do not know; but what we are evidently required by it to believe is that the arrival of Field-Marshal Smuts in this country has led to the taking of important strategic decisions. The main effort of the United Nations in the western theatre is to be directed towards winning back control of the Mediterranean, which, we are told, Smuts has always regarded as the indispensable condition of victory.

Since most other military authorities have been of this opinion, it would seem that the importance attached to Smuts's visit is rather psychological than military. He is the one elder statesman in the Empire, with the exception of Mr. Lloyd George, whose prestige as a war-leader is at least equal to that of Mr. Churchill. Judged by their practical achievements, the authority of both of them should be greater than Mr. Churchill's. But since Mr. Lloyd George continues to hold himself aloof from the conduct of this war, Smuts alone has authority enough to bring reinforcement to Churchill, and even to influence his war-policy.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

PROBABLY the central counsels need reinforcement. I notice a somewhat tardy, but distinctly general admission that time is not on our side after all. In spite of propaganda assertions that the German hold of Europe and the Japanese hold of the Far East is inherently insecure, the realization is growing that what remains fluid may solidify against the United Nations by mere lapse of time.

"If we think to leave Japan alone this winter, she certainly will not leave us alone; and meanwhile the lapse of time is enabling her to convert her hasty conquests into durable assets. By organizing, exploiting, solidifying, and fortifying them she may render an offensive against her incalculably harder and more costly than one today (Sunday Times, Oct. 18).

Though perhaps to a less degree, the same holds good of Germany and Europe. No sober student of the situation will accept at face-value the incessant stream of reports of universal unrest on the verge of rebellion throughout Europe. If that were true, or even near the truth, the Germans could not have done what they have done in Russia.

Supermen Needed

HOW is such a situation to be dealt with? Where and how are the United Nations to deal the Axis the smashing and speedy blow which alone will prevent a draw in the enemy's favour? In Egypt and in Java, the Sunday Times (Oct. 18) suggests. The oracle of the Observer (Oct. 18) leaves out the Far East; but suggests that there is rather more chance of our receiving than giving a heavy blow in North Africa. "If the Nazis seek a decisive battle in Egypt with one-eighth of their total force, then Allied strategy demands that the implied strategy of the other seven-eighths is taken fully into account."

The solution of the impasse, according to this writer, is an attack on Europe by some new and stupendous tactical innovation based on novel organization, in which "the technique employed by the Japs in Malaya, by the Germans in Crete, by Rommel in Africa, and by our sea-borne Spitfires in the Arctic will need to be combined into operations which will surpass in scale any similar attempt."

It sounds very much like the combination of an ideal character—the good sense of the Englishman, the rationality of the Frenchman, the thoroughness of the German, and the patience of the Russian. It is not found in nature.

Mrs. Ellen Ada Wride, of Bristol, "one of Britain's most active veteran pacifists," died on Oct. 5. Though well in the seventies, she rarely failed to attend a pacifist meeting in Bristol, whether PPU or FoR. When Sybil Morrison launched her appeal to women Mrs. Wride tramped the streets of Bristol to obtain signatures for it.

Gloucestershire.—Some fifty members of the PPU spent a weekend at the Cleeve Hill Youth Hostel, Glos., at a "school" arranged by T. Leonard Crow for the Gloucestershire Co-ordinating Committee. Three lectures were delivered by Wilfred Wellock on "The Price and the Fruitage of Peace." Those who attended the school came from all parts of the West Country.

ment, as it did at the time of the French elections in May, 1937, "There is no doubt that the result of the French elections had been a shock to the French people."

The Times is popularly supposed to be in a class by itself. The editorial comment on the occasion of the "Oxford motion" that "Under no circumstances will we fight for King and country" is therefore not without special interest. It was headed "Children's Hour." Children, then, maybe, but RAF pilots now, as the columns "Killed On Active Service" show. Yet young men of an identical age.

Once Dorothy Thompson, the famous American journalist, saw Lord Beaverbrook in London. He said, "There are worse things than war." To which Dorothy Thompson replied quickly, "You mean, there are worse things than other people's wars." In those words was "splendid isolation" revealed for what it was.

Remember . . .

LOOK carefully, then, at those old newspapers before they disappear for salvage. Scrutinize them: "If Your Breath Has A Smell You Can't Feel Well"; horoscopes; "Society" gossip writers; "Is Your Lavatory Only Half Clean?"; sentimental columnists; racing tips; and so on. Think, before the evidence is destroyed, of the press of yesterday and today.

Pacifists now have a particular responsibility in regard to public opinion. Peace News, and notably the columns of "Observer", indicate how vital it is that public affairs should be viewed objectively and dispassionately. Indeed, who is in a position to do this but pacifists?

HAROLD WILSON

Misleading the Public

RE-CALL and ponder the words of Lord Cecil spoken during the House of Commons debate on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty:

For the most part there is no attempt to rely on anything like a super-State; no attempt to rely upon force to carry out a decision of the Council or the Assembly of the League. That is almost impracticable as things stand now. What we rely upon is public opinion . . . and if we are wrong about it, then the whole thing is wrong. (House of Commons, July 21, 1919).

Public opinion. "And if we are wrong about it, then the whole thing is wrong." Does it not stand out for all to see that public opinion on major political issue in recent years has been repeatedly misled and misinformed? Democracy has been betrayed by a press unworthy of democracy. The Alice-in-Wonderland situation is created wherein The Observer can make the priceless state-

VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

By
Reginald Reynolds

Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

THANK YOU, TIMES!

I THINK your readers will be interested in a recent leading article entitled "A Nazi Fiasco" in The Times, Oct. 10. May I quote and comment upon it?

"Two and a half years of German occupation have not produced a Danish revolt against democracy."

That is, by peaceful resistance, Denmark has retained her democratic system—what we, for over three years, are supposed to have been fighting for and have gone some way towards losing.

"For the Germans, and for the future of Europe, this frustration (of Nazi attempts to subjugate Denmark) is significant."

It certainly is—indeed we may say it is significant for the future of the whole world, though perhaps not exactly in the sense which The Times means.

"No gallant campaign against odds, like that on which the Dutch look back with pride, warms the hearts of the Danes."

We shall all honour and esteem the Dutch for their brave struggle to retain democracy; but does it really warm their hearts to remember the horrors of Rotterdam; or chill those of the Danes to reflect that they have themselves retained democracy, rather more fully and firmly than the Dutch, without making Copenhagen a like holocaust?

"No experience of glowing fraternity with fighting allies has left its memory (in Denmark) as an earnest of future common victory."

Is the experience of fraternity in arms really so glowing as all that, when, after being pushed towards participation in the war and offered military guarantees by the greatest Empire on earth, in the event of joining the Allies, Holland found herself overwhelmed within a few days?

"A dogged fidelity to their own ideas and methods has kept Denmark free of the Nazi infection. The new order has wasted its glamour on a people who have retained clear sight and moral balance."

Thank you, Times, for the recognition that this wonderful triumph has been gained by one of the smallest, militarily weakest, of the European countries, without any request for or offer of armed support from the greatest and most powerful of them.

C.C.

Common Wealth

I attended a public meeting at Ilford organized by Common Wealth and addressed by Sir Richard Acland. Among the questions asked was what part a Christian pacifist could play in Common Wealth.

Sir Richard replied that he thought it very difficult for a pacifist to take part in politics at all at this time. He said that in his view the present function of the pacifist is to preach and prophesy and show forth in his own life the values of an order which is yet to come, and that a pacifist wishing to take part in politics now must realize that all political organization is ultimately based on force and that under Common Wealth it will be just the same.

This answer is a sincere, frank and sympathetic one, whether all pacifists agree with it or not, but unfortunately it was greeted with cries of "Then cut out that Christianity business!" "Thou shalt not kill!" etc. As a Christian pacifist (or pacifist Christian) I deeply regretted this demonstration. On this occasion the non-pacifist behaved like a pacifist and the pacifist behaved like a non-pacifist. I wish the former were as common as the latter.

GEORGE E. SMITH

24 Forest Drive, Theydon Bois, Essex.

Whose Serfs?

Apocryphal the cat-and-mouse efforts to force men to act in a manner contrary to their principles, it is reported (PN, Oct. 16) that a protest against this form of persecution was made by "a magistrate obliged to order conscientious objectors to submit to medical examination or, in default, to commit them to terms of imprisonment."

This magistrate and two others, "all of them felt it to be... against the public interest to take the course imposed upon them and to send these conscientious objectors to jail."

Who obliges these magistrates to act in a way their conscience tells them is wrong? Who imposes upon them these wicked courses which they know to be "against the public interest"? Are they bound to be magistrates? Whose craven serfs are they?

Quakingly they choose as their pattern the time-serving arch-coward Pilate who declared "I find in Him no fault at all. But ye have a custom..." Let these whimpering magistrates remember that those are their masters, whom they serve! Let them remember too, Ezekiel Biglow's warning to another set of Loranorder perverts:

Guvment aint to answer for it
God'll send the bill to you,
CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN

Beechcroft, Brownhill, Stroud.

IN the year 1819 Mountstuart Elphinstone submitted to the Governor General of India a "Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa." The writer was a Commissioner of the Bombay Presidency, a trusted official of the East India Company.

The first and most important feature, he wrote, is the division into villages or townships. These Communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all other governments are withdrawn.

Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one; they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity.

Such barriers, however, were precisely what the East India Company did not want; and one of the worst tragedies of British rule in India was the removal of these obstacles to tyranny and rapacity—the village *panchayats*, or councils, and village autonomy generally.

A LONG HISTORY

Elphinstone was not the first person to praise these ancient institutions. Megasthenes, who visited India three centuries before Christ, described the village communities as "republics." He said they were "almost independent of any outside relations."

Lord Zetland, in his book "India: A Bird's Eye View," shows that in early times kings were not regarded as absolute monarchs in India, and the *panchayat* (literally, "the council of five") was the natural focus of local resistance, and even revolt, against tyranny. Old records from Madras tell us of the methods of electing these councils, and even the secret ballot was sometimes used, centuries before Magna Charta.

Civil and criminal cases were heard in the village courts, and the laws of evidence in use were highly praised by an English Chief Justice of Madras (Sir Thomas Strange), who said that the old Hindu law "will be read by every English lawyer with a mixture of admiration and delight, as it may be studied by him to advantage." The historian Horace Wilson noted the popularity of the village system and quoted the Indian saying "Panchayat is God Almighty."

ENTER THE LANDLORD

Under the ancient code of Mana, land was communal property; and the break-up of the village system begins with the growth of landlordism. Sir Henry Maine, in his great work on Village Communities, traces this process under Mughal and British rule.

The Mughals established tax-farmers, known as *zamindars* (like the hated *germiere* of France and the Roman *publicani*). Under our rule these *zamindars* were recognized as the owners of the land from which they collected the taxes! It was the

Mass Production in India

Mr. Wilfred Wellock, in his article on Gandhi v Britain (PN, Oct. 2) writes: "As long ago as 1913 Rabindranath Tagore said to me that any extensive development of mass-production industry in India that was not woven into the fabric of her village economy would be disastrous."

Is this not a fatal confusion of issues? How can mass-production industry be woven into the fabric of village economy? Are not the two entirely antipathetic; the first inevitably destructive of the second and the second, while it remains, the only certain preventive of the first?

Mr. J. R. D. Tata, "easily the biggest employer in India" and head of the "House of Tata, who have been largely responsible for the industrialization of India" has no such illusions. (See the Daily Mail, Sep. 5, 1942.) "Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., the Tata Oil Mills, the Tata Aircraft Co., the Tata Hydro Electric Agencies, the Investment Corporation of India, and many other companies," Mr. Tata ought to know.

"Stalingrad?" said Mr. Tata, "why if there was a new spirit in this country we could build cities of steel like that all over the country." And Mr. Tata has in fact already begun the good work. He has built up Jamshedpur, "well placed between the coal fields of Bihar and the vast ore reserves of the Singbhum iron belt—they call it Tatanagar (Tata Town)—on American lines, with blocks of flats, workers' social clubs, and every other Western idea."

Including, perhaps, that favourite one, a museum of antiques, as a warning reminder of the barbarities of village economy.

MARK FITZROY

The Rise, Mortimer, Berks.

beginning of the decline of the village communities.

But more active measures were soon taken. The village courts were suppressed, in spite of protests from many eminent British administrators.

Sir Thomas Munro wrote that "no Judge, however upright or active, was so competent as such a body to dispense justice, correctly, and expeditiously." This, he said, was the conviction of the peasants from their experience; and in contrast he found the British courts "not only most expensive and vexatious, but totally inefficient."

In later years Sir Henry Cotton regretted that "a costly and mechanical centralization has taken the place of the former system of local self-government and local arbitration."

LAST SURVIVING COMMUNITIES

Of these communities as they existed still in the North (the last survivors) we have an account by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1830. Metcalfe later became Acting Governor-General of India, and his words have some weight. He found the communities "little Republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves." Dynasties fell and revolutions succeeded revolutions "but the Village Communities remain the same."

The union of these communities, he said, had preserved the people of India through all calamities and was conducive "to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." He dreaded any tendency to break them up.

We often talk of the advantages of "British Justice." Indians do not seem to share this view, and it is on record that the people of Oudhu fled, not from the British Army, but from the High Court which they understood was following it. Not only was Indian justice far more humane, but Elphinstone summed up the advantage of the regime we replaced when he said that "although it did little to obtain justice for the people it left them the means of procuring it for themselves." To which he added that "the advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders."

COMMUNITIES' FUNCTION

These communities controlled the allocation of taxes, public works, provision against famine, and public sanitation. On his last point Sir Frederick Lely wrote as recently as 1906 that the powers of the *panchayat* should have been revived: "it would have been working up from ancient village custom instead of down from a foreign and not yet assimilated institution."

The communities also ran their own schools—one in every village, as Munro, Muller, and other authorities tell us—where primary education was given. We have built secondary schools and universities; but under our rule the general level of elementary education has declined with the *panchayat*, which no longer has the money or the powers to carry out its ancient functions.

A few half-hearted attempts have been made to revive this institution in modern times, but with such circumscribed powers, and with so much interference and supervision on the part of the Government, that the experiments have not been very successful, though they impressed Mr. J. H. Whitley and other members of the Royal Commission on Tabous.

I could cite authorities to show that many serious students of Indian affairs believe the regeneration of India to depend largely upon the revival of village self-government. But perhaps what is infinitely more important at the moment is that *this is the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi himself.*

Kathleen Neill Watson, leading spirit in pacifist work in Dublin (and one may say in Southern Ireland), died on Oct. 4. It was through her efforts that the Anti-War Crusade started in Dublin. She also started the For branch, and acted as distributor of Peace News for a long time. Her home was always open to all who sought the way of peace, and she will be keenly missed.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
8 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

October 31

By DONALD PORT

OCTOBER 31 marks the fifth anniversary of Dick Sheppard's death. This year the date has a special significance for us, since, by it, the movement has set itself to raise in promises sufficient to secure the purchase of Dick Sheppard House as a permanent headquarters and as a memorial to him.

Already over £1,500 in cash has been sent in, together with many promises of payment by December 31, but a vigorous effort is required if we are to be assured of the full total of £4,500 by the end of next week. Some Groups have not felt able to guarantee the £10 originally asked for, while some have sent much more.

There are others, however, from whom we have not yet heard, and it is to them that we particularly appeal. By concerts, socials, "bring and buy" sales, as well as by extensive use of the special appeal cards, much money has already been raised. We believe that every Group can make one such special effort, and individual members, we are sure, will want to make some contribution to this expression of our gratitude for Dick Sheppard's life.

In London, on October 31, at Friends House, Euston Rd., a gathering has been arranged to which we hope many London members and some from the provinces will be coming. Most of the Sponsors and members of National Council will be present, and we want to make it an occasion for experiencing a real fellowship in Dick's name.

Starting at 3, the afternoon programme will include music provided by Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears; Laurence Housman reading his own play, "The Instrument"; and Hugh Robertson bringing a message from Scotland. There will be a "Dutch auction" of autographed books, a book sale and an opportunity of meeting informally the Sponsors and Council members.

Tea will be provided at a cost of 1s. per head in the Friends House restaurant, and during the interval there will be an exhibition of Arthur Wragg's "Seven Words," dedicated to Dick Sheppard, and a sale of water-colours of Maurice Rowntree and Silvia Tatham and the paintings of H. G. Fothergill and Alfred Rawlings. At 6.45 the Adelphi Players will give a performance of "Easter," by August Strindberg, for which there will be a small charge of 6d. The gathering will be closed by short speeches from Alex Wood and Arthur Ponsonby.

Admission is to be by brochure, 1s. 1d. (including postage) from Dick Sheppard House, or on the day from the door of Friends House. There are also a limited number of brochures available for those who cannot come but would like to have them as souvenirs.

Those provincial members who are deterred from attending only by the difficulty of finding accommodation are offered hospitality for Saturday night; applications to London Area Office, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1, by Oct. 29. Others who cannot come will, we hope, be with us in spirit. The support of all members is needed in making this gathering, and the purchase of the House, an occasion for honouring the life of Dick Sheppard and rededicating the movement to the cause of pacifism.

a remarkable pamphlet

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by George M. L. Davies

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Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

NEWS of C.O.s

In BRITAIN

THE latest case of "cat-and-mouse" treatment is that of a girl who has been subjected to repeated prosecution before she had a chance to go before a tribunal.

Mary Cockroft of Sowerby Bridge, a member of Halifax Friends' Meeting, aged 19, is an "absolutist" who refused to comply with the direction of a National Service Officer to work as a hospital ward maid. She was prosecuted at Halifax on July 1 and fined £10, with 10s. costs, which was paid anonymously without her knowledge or wish.

She was then given another direction to work in a hospital, and for her continued refusal has been prosecuted again on Oct. 14 before the same court, which imposed a fine of £20 with two guineas costs. As she refused to pay, she is now serving two months imprisonment.

Since only single women who had reached 20 (but not 31) on July 23 can at present register as COs and go before tribunals, Mary Cockroft has no chance of doing this. Such directions would not be given to a CO if the tribunal specified other work, and would be most unlikely following upon unconditional exemption. The action of the National Service Officer in forestalling the tribunals is being challenged, and in view of her harsh treatment a strong demand is being made for Mary Cockroft's release.

Victor Pasmore, the distinguished painter, having been turned down by the earlier tribunals, eventually found it impossible conscientiously to serve in the army as a gunner. Later he was arrested, court-martialled, and sentenced to four months' imprisonment, during which he went before the Scottish Appellate Tribunal on Sep. 30, as widely reported in the press. It is now learned that the tribunal recommended his discharge from the army and granted him unconditional exemption.

Sir William Prescott, Bart., who was fined £500 at Cambridge Assizes on Oct. 15 for what the prosecution had called a "flagrant and gross evasion" of petrol rationing, is the chairman of the Tottenham Bench that regularly sentences conscientious objectors to the maximum penalties.

Benjamin Laurence Tarr, summoned at West Ham on Oct. 13 for refusing to fire-watch on business premises was fined £15, with 5 gns. costs, and given a month to pay. He had registered, and been turned down by a military hardships committee. Tarr, who "regards fire-raising and fire-fighting as all part of modern war," is a member of the Society of Friends, a councillor of Hornchurch, and a CO of the 1914-1918 war.

MAURICE ROWNTREE'S

Be on Top of Your Form

is addressed to those who seek to "overcome war and the evils which give rise to war".

Lenin warned Communists, Keir Hardie warned Socialists and Gandhi warned India against Alcohol. Rowntree now challenges Pacifists upon this stumbling block to progress.

Debunking delusions about it, he presents his case in 32 pp. and supports it by incontrovertible up-to-date scientific evidence and official findings.

Alex. Wood, Alfred Salter and James Hudson invite Pacifists to study it.

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UNITE WITH US

'Cat-and-Mouse'

In AUSTRALIA

FOLLOWING the suspension of the provisions for conscientious objection by the Senate on April 29 last, there has been no further action by the Commonwealth Government in this matter (states the latest issue of the Peacemaker, of Melbourne, Australia, to hand).

There is no provision for conscientious objection at present but the Government has frequently stated in recent weeks that it intends to restore this basic human right as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, owing partly to the same suspension by the Senate, a soldier in S. Australia has served his fourth sentence by court martial for refusing military orders because of conscientious objection to continuing war service. He is Private Lloyd Luther Butler.

IN NEW ZEALAND TOO

"In New Zealand," writes Winifred Young of Christchurch, "after serving a sentence for failing to report for military service, a man is still considered part of the army and the military authorities collect him at the expiry of his sentence and take him off to camp..."

"In the case of my husband, by the time his first 3 months (in prison) was up, on Mar. 9 further charges had been laid against him for subversion" on account of some pacifist pamphlets. Pending the hearing, however, he was sentenced to another 3 months for refusing military service, and then to 2 years on the subversion charge.

"Most of the NZ COs whose appeals have been dismissed have been sentenced to defaulters' camp. Those with appeals allowed are brought before a special one-man tribunal, who inquires into their financial circumstances and orders them to pay into the Social Security Fund the amount they may be getting in excess of a soldier's earnings. The tribunal may also order them to change their occupation..."

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ONE furnished bedroom, one unfurnished, or both unfurnished. Use kitchen and bath. Box 563 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, bachelor, 30, requires unfurnished flat, two rooms and kitchenette, Palmers Green or district, moderate rent. Write Box 387 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

W.9. Close Bakerloo Tube, one or two rooms on first floor, separate gas and electric. Pacifist's own house newly decorated. Would willingly furnish if desired. Box 560 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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KIDSTONES SCHOOL, Bishopdale, Leyburn, Yorks, now established as Educational Trust. Thus financial considerations need not debar your children from joining. Progressive methods. Fully qualified staff. Safe, healthy area. Home farm. Co-educational from 7 years.

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STAMPS. Good quality approvals, 75% off 1942 catalogue price. "Philatopacifist" 29 Stanley Rd., Earlsdon, Coventry.

LITERATURE, &c.

G. S. SPINKS, M.A. Resume of his lecture based on Sir R. Livingstone's "The Future in Education", now available. Price 3d, post free from W. E. Gumbley, The Lodge, 110 West Heath Rd., N.W.3. Issued by Golders Green P.P.U.

PEACEMONGERING AIDS. "Pioneering For World Brotherhood," 7d. "My Daily Bread," 2d. "Why the German Republic Fell," 1s. 3d. Price includes postage. E. Crawford, 27 St. John's Hill, Shrewsbury.

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TO
MR. CHURCHILL

Organised by
Committee of Indian Congressmen
in Gt. Britain, 70 New Oxford St., W.C.1.

The Bishops' Move

THE Upper House of Convocation passed unanimously a resolution pressing upon the British people the necessity of a far greater sense of the urgency of the sufferings in Occupied Europe.

The Bishop of Chichester, moving the resolution, cited the figure of 110,000 deaths in two months this year in Athens and the Piraeus alone. He added (Times, Oct. 16):

In Belgium, unless the British Government allowed food to go through the blockade for the children and nursing mothers, there was likely to be very little of Belgium to be saved and very few Belgian children would grow up. The race for saving large parts of Europe was literally a race with death.

The Bishop of Hereford seconded the resolution, and in the course of discussion, the Archbishop of Canterbury said that

constant representations were being made to the Government on the subject of giving permission for vitamins, dried milk, and so on to be shipped to countries whose needs were so desperate. It was right that Christian communions should watch for every real opportunity of giving relief as long as there was reasonable ground for hope that it would reach those for whom it was intended. We could not wait until we had certainty.

Fresh evidence of the urgency of further relief is provided in the case of Belgium by two quotations from the Brussels press. Het Laatste Nieuws (quoted by the E. News, Oct. 14) writes that "more than 200,000 Belgian children are suffering from undernourishment, and 63,000 from tuberculosis," while Le Pays Réel (Sep. 2) announced:

An earlier grant has been made to persons suffering from hunger oedema allowing them to apply for a free meal at cheap restaurants or one-dish restaurants on presentation of a permit card issued by the Min-



istry of the Interior and Public Health. This card was only valid for one month.

Its validity is continued for a further month and "in extreme cases the duration of the permit may be extended for a third month."

Miss Edith Pye wrote in The Friend (Oct. 16) that in the case of Belgium "only navicerts from the British Government are now required: even the shipping has been arranged for," so that there are hopes that "they may at long last give permission for this experiment in hope and friendship to be tried, since adequate control is possible under the aegis of the International Red Cross."

Withheld navicerts are also the only obstacle to the despatch of dried milk and milk products to the children of Greece. Havas reports that a medical mission from the Pasteur Institute is now in Greece fighting the serious epidemic of exanthematic typhus. The Svenska Morgnblad reports that "malaria and other diseases kill masses of the hungry population. There is no quinine or other medicine."

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CAT AND MOUSE

Foreword by Fenner Brockway

The new 24-page survey of the repeated prosecution of C.O.s in this war and the last, including medical examination; conditionally registered C.O.s; Industry; Fire-watching, etc.

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LITERATURE (Cont.)

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

BIRMINGHAM. This Sunday, Oct. 25: Labour Pacifist Fellowship and I.L.P. Public Discussion: "Peace—But How?" Vic Yates (L.P.F.), Tom Reed (I.L.P.). Bristol St., School at 6.30.

FREEDOM FOR INDIA. Howard Whitten on Thurs., Oct. 29 at 8 p.m. at 77 St. James Rd., Sutton.

PECKHAM P.P.U. Meetings every Monday 7.30 p.m. at Lansbury House, 41 Camberwell Grove, S.E.5. (One minute walk Camberwell Green). Oct. 26, "Passivism, Devolution, and Immunity," Bernard Taylor.

THE HACKNEY GROUP invites you to a social and dance in aid of the Dick Sheppard House Fund, at Kingsley Hall, Bow, on Saturday, Oct. 24, 6.30 to 10 p.m. Tickets (including refreshments) 1s. 6d. from Secretary, 11 Powell Rd., London, E.5.

PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LONELY C.O.s, on forestry work desire female companionship or correspondence. Write R. G. Perry, 85 Castle Rd., Tipton, Staffs.

WILL PACIFISTS EAST GRINSTEAD district please contact Group Secretary Bob Gadsden, Kingsmead, Kingscote, East Grinstead.

YOUNG COMPOSER-VIOLINIST wishes to meet other C.O.s with similar interests. Benjamin Field, Westaway, Woolacombe.

SITUATIONS VACANT

C.B.C.O. Secretary urgently needs very efficient shorthand typist, preferably over 31. Please apply 6 Endsleigh St., W. C. 1. (Euston 5501).

HOUSEKEEPER REQUIRED for small country hostel for boy delinquents (14-18) run by C.O. couple. Box 562 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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INTELLIGENT, PROGRESSIVE, hard-working, domesticated married couple—one qualified teacher—or single man and woman, for modern co-educational home-school. Share teaching, house-work, general duties. Live communally. Please give ages, subjects, interest, experience. Freemount School, Bacton, Hereford.

LADY COOK wanted for boys' school, 12 miles Shrewsbury. Cooking mornings only; helping seamstress in afternoons. Salary £70-£80. Resident. Applications to Matron, Farquhar House, Burton, Salop.

THE CO-OPERATIVE HOLIDAYS ASSOCIATION urgently require for an Agricultural Hostel housing conscientious objectors in Lancashire (a) one Staff Helper (preferably female), (b) One man for part domestic and remainder garden duties. Both appointments are residential. Applications should be addressed to C.H.A. (Hostel Staff A) Birch Heys, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

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WANTED. Woman to help with children and housework. Good home and wages. Apply White Gate, Woodlands Lane, Quarndon.

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C.O. REQUIRES farm work. Married, 25, slight experience. Box 545 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MARRIED MAN, 28, unconditionally exempt, wants work country or small town any where; strong; warehouse and stockkeeping exp.; consider anything. Box 555 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WOULD ANYONE prepared to employ very difficult case as gardener please communicate with Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

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MISCELLANEOUS

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